

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /025 W

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R 191110Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2169

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 CAIRO 5233

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (JAVITS, JACOB) EG

SUBJECT: CODEL JAVITS: MEMCON--FONMIN FAHMY/SENATOR JAVITS

SUMMARY: SENATOR AND FONMIN HAD A LIVELY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CENTERING ON FAHMY'S ASSERTION THAT CONTINUED RIGIDITY OF US ARMS SALES POLICY TO EGYPT CARRIES GRAVE RISKS. IT UNDERMINES EGYPT'S EFFORT ESTABLISHMENT RATIONALITY (VICE EXTREMISM) AS BASIS ARAB FOREIGN POLICY; A SERIOUS CRIPPLING OF EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES WOULD ULTIMATELY FORCE EGYPT GO BACK TO SOVIETS. BOTH AGREED PEACE PROCESS SHOULD BE MOVED FORWARD NOW, NOT AFTER US ELECTIONS, BUT DISAGREED SHARPLY ON USG'S PLO POLICY. FAHMY, CITING TITO, SAID CASTRO HAD TOLD SOVIETS HE DID NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN ANGOLA AND WISHES NOW TO GET OUT; SOVIETS HAVE HAD TO PAY HIM TO HELP THEM. FAHMY OPINED HUSAIN IS SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN ME PICTURE BUT LAMENTED HUSAIN'S ALLEGED PREVARICATION AT RABAT RE JORDAN DISENGAGEMENT. ON LEBANON, FAHMY STRESSED PROBLEM IS LEFT VERSUS RIGHT, NOT CHRISTIAN VERSUS MUSLIM. FOLLOWING MEMCON HAS BEEN CLEARED BY SENATOR WHO HAS COPY WITH HIM. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVED SENATOR JAVITS, HIS AIDES, AND AMBASSADOR EILTS CORDIALLY. SENATOR STATED HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED WITH PRESIDENT SADAT'S REVIEW OF EGYPT'S CONCEPT OF CORRECT TIMING FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE; I.E., SOME FORM OF MEETING NOW TO "PAVE THE WAY" FOR NEXT YEAR. SENATOR HAD CONVEYED MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO SADAT

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TAKING HIM FOR HIS RESTRAINT IN LEBANON AND HIS

COURAGE RE ABROGATION OF SOVIET TREATY.

2. USG-GOE RELATIONS. SENATOR EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT C-130 PROBLEMS HAD BEEN SURMOUNTED AND THAT PLANS FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE CONTINUE. HE NOTED FAHMY KNOWS US SO WELL THAT HE NEED NOT WARN AGAINST MISUNDERSTANDING SOMETIMES ACRIMONIOUS CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES. OUR MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY HAS NOT YET CRYSTALIZED, SENATOR STATED, BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE COMMITMENTS COULD BE MADE. HE WORRIES THAT SUPPLYING ARMS TO TWO COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE JUST CONCLUDED A WAR WILL NOT BE HALPFUL AND THAT CONGRESS BELIEVES WE SHOULD SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE ON OTHER FRONTS FOR THE PRESENT.

3. ARMS. FAHMY REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTANDS US DIFFICULTIES, BUT IF US SYSTEM CONTINUES TO BE SO RIGID, RISKS IN EGYPT AND RAB WORLD WILL BE HIGH. ALL ARABS ARE WATCHING TO SEE HOW FAST AND IN WHAT DIRECTION US-GOE RELATIONSHIP WILL DEVELOP, BOTH IN BILATERAL CONTEXT (INCLUDING ARMS) AND IN BROADER CONTEXT OF MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE. SENATOR SHOULD NOT LEAVE EGYPT WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING FOLLOWING BASIC POINT OF EGYPT'S STRATEGY: WHILE SENATOR'S CONCLUSIONS ABOUT SUPPLYING TWO ADVERSARIES MAY BE TRUE, IF USG PROVIDES SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY AID ONLY TO ISRAEL, EGYPT WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GO BACK TO SOVIET UNION AND/OR TO INTERNATIONAL MARKET. FAHMY STRESSED THE QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF PERSONALITIES. NEITHER HE NOR SADAT IS IMMORTAL NOR CAN THEY ESCAPE THIS FACT OF LIFE. EGYPT UNDERSTANDS SOVIET EXTRACT PRICE FOR HELP, I.E. INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE PRESSURE EGYPT FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT. EGYPT IS NOT AFRAID, BUT SUCH PRESSURES EXIST. IN SHORT, EGYPT WILL GET ARMS AND PREFERS US SOURCES. US WOULD THEN KNOW WHO IS GETTING WHAT AND CAN KEEP A BALANCE. AN IMBALANCE IS INDUCEMENT FOR ISRAELIS TO ATTACK AND COULD FORCE EGYPT TO MOSCOW.

4. U.S. RESPONSIBILITY. FAHMY SAID A BASIC POLITICAL/
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STRATEGIC TRANSFORMATION IS OCCURING AND SUPER POWERS HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES. DID SENATOR AGREE? SENATOR SAID HE NEITHER AGREED NOR DISAGREED; HE WAS JUST LISTENING. HE SUGGESTED 1973 WAR SHOWED EGYPT WAS WELL PREPARED MILITARILY AND NOTED ISRAEL, UNLIKE EGYPT, HAS OTHER POTENTIAL ARMS SOURCES. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FAHMY'S POINT ON RETURNING TO MOSCOW BECAUSE TRADEOFFS ARE ENDEMIC IN POLITICS. US

FRIENDSHIP FOR EGYPT IS NOT FREE, AS WITNESS OUR
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. "MY VIEW IS TO SUSPEND JUDGMENT"
ON ARMS AND, CONSEQUENTLY, TO PREVENT ISSUE FROM
COMING TO CRISIS. CERTAINLY, IF SITUATION DOES NOT
MOVE BECAUSE OF ELECTIONS IN US, ISRAEL, OR EGYPT, WE
WILL GET NOWHERE. PERHAPS WE CAN MOVE WITH ISRAEL,
EGYPT, JORDAN AND HOPEFULLY SYRIA. SADAT'S EUROPEAN VISIT
WAS USEFUL BECAUSE EUROPEANS ARE NOT FACING UP TO
THEIR DUTY IN MIDDLE EAST, PERHAPS DUE TO FEAR OF OIL
WEAPON AND/OR FEAR OF TAKING ON PEACE-KEEPING RESPONSIBILITIES.
IT IS USEFUL TO KEEP MOVING AROUND THE WORLD. CHINA
TRIP IN PARTICULAR SHOWS SOVIETS THEY ARE NOT THE
ONLY PLAYERS.

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R 191110Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2170

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5. PEACE SETTLEMENT. SENATOR SAID HE HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY
INTERESTED BY PRESIDENT SADAT'S "PRINCIPLES" FOR A
PEACE SETTLEMENT: NON-BELLIGERENCY, MEETING IN '76,
GUARANTEES TO BOTH PARTIES, AND US RECOGNITIO OF
PALESTINIANS AS PARTY. SENATOR HAD BEEN UNABLE TO
CONCUR THAT US-PLO DIALOGUE SHOULD BEGIN IN VIEW PR
PROBLEMS AND FACT THAT COMMUNICATIONS CAN OCCUR ANYWAY
WITHOUT DIALOGUE.

6. PLO. SENATOR STRESSED HE AGREES WITH USG POLICY
ON PLO. NOTING HE HAS NO CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION ON
SUBJECT, HE COULD SPEAK FREELY: "I AM ABSOLUTELY
POSITIVE SOMEONE IN US IS TALKING TO PLO."

7. WHAT NEXT, FAHMY SAID WHAT IS AT STAKE IS
EGYPT'S NEW POLICY OF REALISM. GOE MUST BE
ABLE PROVE TO ITS PEOPLE THAT REALISM IS VAIABLE SUBSTITUTE

FOR RADICALISM. WE HAVE BIG ARMY. IF ARMY THINKS
SHIFT MEANS IT IS BEING DISARMED, THEN WE HAVE
CATASTROPHE. NO ONE WILL RUN THIS RISK. REGARDING
ARMS RESUPPLY, THERE IS NO QUALITATIVE OR QUANTATIVE
COMPARISON, FAHMY CONTINUED, BETWEEN WHAT SOVIETS
PROVIDED TO EGYPT AND US ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL.
FURTHER, US GIVES TO ISRAEL WITHOUT CONDITIONS, ASSUMING
THIS WILL GENERATE AREA SECURITY OR, AT MINIMUM, GIVE
ISRAEL MAXIMUM SECURITY. ON OTHER HAND, SOVIETS
PENALIZED EGYPT DURING AND AFTER OCTOBER WAR. THERE
IS "BIG DIFFERENCE." SENATOR SAID HE SEES BIG
DIFFERENCE, "BUT IT MAY NOT BE RIGHT." FAHMY SAID HE
IS READY TO NEGOTIATE FREEZE ON CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN
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CONNECTION WITH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HE WILL EVEN
PUT THIS ON AGENDA. EGYPT WILL END
BELLIGERENCY AND RECOGNIZE ISRAEL. WHAT MORE IS NEEDED?
SENATOR RECALLED PEACE AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN TORN UP.
EGYPT REGARDS 1967 AS WAR OF ISRAELI AGGRESSION, WHILE
REVERSE WAS TRUE IN 1973. FAHMY REJOINED THAT ISRAEL
IS NOT READY FOR PEACE. SENATOR SAID EGYPT IS READY ON
ITS TERMS AND ISRAEL ON ITS. FAHMY ASKED WHAT MORE
THAN PEACE AGREEMENT IS NECESSARY. SENATOR SAID HE
DID NOT WANT TO NEGOTIATE ON BEHALF EITHER ISRAEL OR USG,
BUT HE FEARS THERE WILL BE MUCH BRIEF ON BOTH SIDES
BEFORE FINAL SETTLEMENT. FAHMY SAID ISRAELIS WANT
NON-BELLIGERENCY WHILE "KEEPING OUR LAND". SENATOR
SAID LAND IN QUESTION IS SAND, TO WHICH FAHMY REPLIED
THAT US VALUES ITS ARIZON SAND. SENATOR RECALLED LOSS
OF SINAI WAS FORTUNE OF WAR.

FAHMY SAID IF PEACE TREAT IS OF NO VALUE,
THIS IS NEW THEORY. SENATOR NOTED TREATIES MUST BE
OBVIOUSLY BASED ON CONDITIONS, E.&., SADAT HAD
SAID PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS
GET TOGETHER. FAHMY DEMURRED, SAYING PRESIDENT
WAS MISUNDERSTOOD. QUESTION IS ONE OF PERMANENT
PEACE. EGYPT HAD BEEN PREPARED TO GO BACK TO
1967 LINES, BUT ISRAEL REFUSED. NOW EGYPT ALSO
REFUSES SINCE IF DID AGREE, PALESTINIANS WOULD "GO BACK
TO US." IN OTHER WORDS, SENATOR SAID, ALL SIDES
ARE NOT RPT NOT READY. SETTLEMENT TAKES MORE THAN JUST
DEALING WITH EGYPT AND EVEN EGYPT'S ABILITY TO MOVE
FORWARD IS DEPENDENT ON OTHER FACTORS.

8. SYRIA AND PEACE. FAHMY SAID HE IS NOT WORRIED ABOUT UNDOF
WITHDRAWAL. PRACTICALLY, EGYPT LIKES USG TO FLIRT WITH
SYRIA--"IT SAVES US EFFORT." FAHMY AGREED WE SHOULD
NOT WASTE TIME. IF WE CAN, WE SHOULD MOVE WITH

SYRIA, JORDAN AND EGYPT. THIS WILL BUILD CONFIDENCE
BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAEL. SENATOR AGREED AND SAID
IT WOULD ALSO BUILD PRESSURE FOR PEACE IN ARAB WORLD.

9. SOVIET POLICIES. FAHMY NOTED PROCESS WILL BE VERY
DIFFICULT WITHOUT US AND USSR INVOLVEMENT. SENATOR
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NOTED MANY IN US SAY GREAT NATIONS MUST NOT BLUFF.
DO SOVIETS WANT SALT OR NOT? FAHMY SAID AFRICA IS
ANOTHER EXAMPLE. SENATOR AGREED; SOVIETS IN ANGOLA
ARE ENGAGING IN VERY DANGEROUS MANOUVER. ANY
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WOULD GAIN IMMEDIATE POPULARITY
NOW IF HE DECLARED MOSCOW AN ENEMY.

10. CUBANS IN ANGOLA. FAHMY SAID TITO HAD TOLD
SADAT THAT CASTRO HAD NOT WANTED INVOLVEMENT IN
ANGOLA AND DOES NOT WANT TO STAY THERE NOW. SOVIETS
HAD PRESSED CASTRO HARD AND ARE PAYING HIM "A LOT".
SOVIET PAYMENTS HAVE GONE UP BY MILLIONS. (FAHMY
WAS SPEAKING SOFTLY, HIS REFERENCE TO "MILLIONS"
WAS UNCLEAR).

11. JORDAN AND PEACE. SENATOR ASKED IF JORDAN COULD BE
SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN PEACE PROCESS. FAHMY REPLIED
THAT HUSAIN IS DEALING WITH ASAD SO THAT SYRIANS WILL
DO JOB OF CONTAINING THE PALESTINIANS. SYRIAN PRICE
IS THAT HUSAIN SUPPORTS ASAD PUBLICLY, AND, IF THERE
IS A WEST BANK DEAL, ASAD WILL CONTINUE SUPPORT
HUSAIN. ASKED IF THERE COULD BE MOVE ON JORDANIAN
FRONT, FAHMY SAID YES, IF ISRAELIS MAKE SOME EXTRAORDINARY
OFFER.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2171

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 CAIRO 5233

FAHMY STRESSED HUSAIN IS COURAGEOUS. HE LAMENTED HUSAIN BELIEF THAT FAHMY IS AGAINST HIM. THIS IS NOT TRUE. FAHMY WANTS HUSAIN TO BE "CLEAR CUT"; HE MUST MAKE UP HIS MIND. ALEXANDRIA AGREEMENT, (BETWEEN GOJ AND GOE, AUGUST 1974) REPRESENTED SERIOUS GOE EFFORT HELP HUSAIN, BUT HUSAIN WAS "UNABLE SUSTAIN AGREEMENT." HUSAIN, NEVERTHELESS, IS CERTAINLY SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN ME SITUATION.

FAHMY RECOUNTED GENESIS OF RABAT DECISIONS ON WHO REPRESENTS PALESTINIANS. EGYPTIANS HAD GONE TO RABAT TO SUPPORT JORDAN, HAVING UNDERSTOOD FROM USG THAT A JORDANIAN DISENGAGEMENT WAS IN THE CARDS. HUSAIN, HOWEVER, TOLD CONFERENCE ISRAEL HAD NOT OFFERED DISENGAGEMENT, BUT RATHER A FULL PEACE PACKAGE INVOLVING TERRITORIAL CORRIDORS. SADAT, MUCH TAKEN ABACK, HAD BEEN FORCED TO SAY THAT IN THAT CASE, HUSAIN WAS RIGHT NOT TO ACCEPT THE OFFER. FAHMY NOTED THAT IT IS INCONCEIVABLE HUSAIN HAD HAD DIRECT TALKS WITH RABIN, BUT GOE UNDERSTANDING FROM USG HAD BEEN CLEAR. AFTER RABAT, FAHMY ASKED KISSINGER IN CAIRO ABOUT HUSAIN'S STORY. KISSINGER CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT ANYTHING EXCEPT JORDANIAN DISENGAGEMENT HAD EVER BEEN DISCUSSED; HE ASKED FAHMY TO ARRANGE PRESS QUESTION SO THAT HE COULD DENY HUSAIN'S "PEACE PACKAGE WITH CORRIDORS" ALLEGATION PUBLICLY.

12. LEBANON. AMBASSADOR ASKED FAHMY ABOUT ARAFAT'S AGREEMENT WITH ASAD ON LEBANON. FAHMY SAID HE WAS PUZZLED THAT ISRAEL HAS NOT REACTED TO LATEST
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DEVELOPMENTS, IN CONTRAST TO ISRAELI PATTERN OF RAIDING AND OTHER ACTIVISM IN RECENT PAST. ISRAEL IS BEHAVING AS IF IT LIKES SYRIAN INTERVENTION. ARAFAT/ASAD AGREEMENT WILL NOT LAST; DISRUPTIONS HAD ALREADY OCCURRED EVENING APRIL 17. HE AGREED WITH SENATOR'S REMARK THAT CHAOS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME. FAHMY EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT AT FACT THAT THOUGH "17,000 ARE DEAD", LEBANESE POLITICIANS HAVE EMERGED PHYSICALLY AND POLITICALLY UNSCATHED. IT IS ALMOST AS IF LATTER WANT SITUATION TO CONTINUE. IN ANY CASE, FAHMY CONCLUDED, IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND PROBLEMIS NOT RELIGIOUS ONE, BUT THE LEFT FIGHTING THE RIGHT. THE

POPE, TO WHOM SADAT HAS SPOKEN LAST WEEK, WE
UNDERSTAND THAT PROBLEM IS NOT ONE OF
CHRISTIANS AGAINST MUSLIMS.
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